1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 351 361 417 the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312 Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562 In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

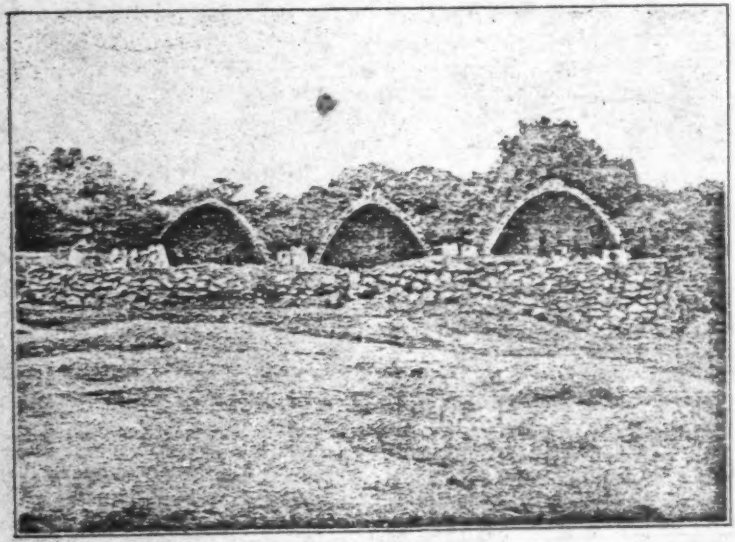

FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

211 out by the dairyman, and when going for this purpose they
363 must keep to the *majvatitthkalvol*. This path is sometimes
562 indicated by a stone, the *majvatitthkars*, and the spot where the women stand to receive the buttermilk is called the *majvatvaiidrn*.

At many villages there are other stones which have definite

[342]

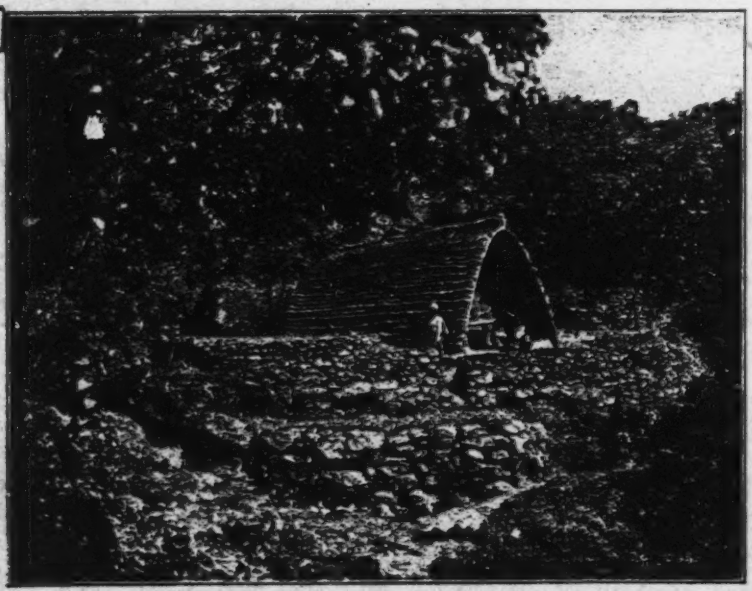

FIG. 7.—THE CHIEF HOUSE OF THE VILLAGE OF KIUDR.

names and mark the sites where certain ceremonial functions are performed.

342 The house is called *ars*, and is of the kind shown in Fig. 7. It is shaped like half a barrel, with the barrel-like roof and sides projecting for a considerable distance beyond the front partition containing the door. The size of the hut is by no means constant; in some cases it is sufficiently roomy to enable people to move about with ease and comfort, while in others it is so small that it is unbearably stuffy, and the smoke from the fire, which is always burning, makes it difficult to believe that anyone can long live in it. The entrance to

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Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*, and at Nodrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

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as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters.

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms.

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the

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234 221 796 the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray, [415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the 482] dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

● [562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

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from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after childbirth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood.

Women and the Dairy

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time.

Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *pali*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

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234 784 562 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nödrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

History of the Dairy

173 234 778 The Todas can give very little information which throws any light on the development of this complex organisation of the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition, the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nödrs *ti*, date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *nearrülukars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *nearrülukars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

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754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
234 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
754 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close
754 relation existing between magic and religion among the
783 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

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been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *ān*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *ān* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *ān* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitūn*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmekh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitūn*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *mevkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

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621 778 788 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be. When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *mzin* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 621 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages," where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually

778 784 788

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villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidhaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them.

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaiwakkti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kaiwad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die.

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

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Debt and Servitude

426 593 466 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt, and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kâlvatkerthâki* or *kâlvatkerthâti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

562 community towards the sex. The laws regulating the relations of the dairymen with women also can hardly have contributed to raise the esteem in which they are held. The special ceremonies in which women are concerned involve various disabilities due to the ideas of impurity connected with these ceremonies. The seclusion-hut of a woman has attached to it the same ideas of impurity which attach to a corpse or its relics.

562 562 Not only are women excluded from any share in the work of the dairies connected with the sacred buffaloes, but they are also prohibited from any part in the milking of the ordinary buffaloes or in the churning of their milk, which is performed solely by males in a part of the hut with which women have nothing to do. It seems that at one time women had the one function of tending the buffaloes at the time of calving, but even this is no longer allowed them.

In other household matters, the duties of women are very limited in scope. Their chief work is the pounding and sifting of grain, the cleaning of the hut, and the decoration of clothing. I am doubtful whether they are allowed to cook, at any rate to cook food in which milk forms one of the ingredients. With such occupations as divining and sorcery they have nothing to do, but one woman has the reputation of possessing the powers of healing which belong to the *ativeu*.

562 I could not learn of any matters of social importance in which women are consulted. When collecting genealogies in Torres Straits, I found that women were often repositories of this important branch of knowledge, but I received no indication that this was the case with the Toda women, though I cannot say definitely that they may not have possessed some knowledge of this and cognate subjects.

Though thus unimportant in ceremonial and of little influence in the regulation of social affairs, women have nevertheless much freedom. In general social intercourse the two sexes always seemed to be on the best of terms, and I never saw or heard anything to indicate that women are treated harshly or contemptuously.

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Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *kolviti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 176

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *mwrsol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *mwrsol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Àdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Àdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 583 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 576 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people hinders the ceremony of Àdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

162 562 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with 531

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VII.

intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

A feast—a little more sugar and a little more ncí—is given about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

The following are the names of men:

Netarâdl.	Kirnâl.
Belâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—porra[1] hesro—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[1] Porra = outside.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVII.

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Étud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XXIV.

II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants ;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption ;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property : but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations ; being fed from the common stock.

VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family : and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

CHAP. XXVI.

the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

As regards the national feeling on such an affair it would be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

562 If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1 i.e. failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage—Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

for the practice of feminine duties, and of acquiring useful experience in the management of affairs. If the husbands should die, the widow would be fully competent to act as trustee of any cattle they may have left, and as guardian of her children, whether she married again, or maintained her single state.

In the event of a woman not bearing any children to her husband, he may marry again: but in such case he must support the first wife: and, as a matter of course, he has to pay another dower for the second.

In possession, therefore, of these evidences of wedded life, and bearing in recollection the staid nature of this singular people, I feel convinced that separation between pairs is not lightly tolerated. Easy-tempered, thoroughly communistic, and not very nice in their discrimination of the duties of husbands and wives to one another, many of the causes which lead to separations amongst civilised people, must be absent from them, and motives for divorce would not be frequent.

What an insight does the simple practice of the dower, not give into the direct nature of their minds! Both parties *promise*, and the promise is their bond! It is not that it is a conscientious people, but so guileless and free from talent for plot, and all so much alike, that seemingly they possess almost intuitive knowledge of one another's intentions. We notice the same peculiarity amongst the inferior animals, and for want of a better word, term it instinct. I have often thought that much of this instantaneous understanding we observe in animals, as well as the rapidity with which, amongst nearly pure races of man, information is disseminated, and the unity of impulse with which they work in combining for a common end, is due greatly to close similarity in cranial contour.[1] Are sly animals ever found associated in herds or troops?

[1] This peculiarity was a remarkable feature in the Indian Mutiny of the year 1857; the rebellion of a semi-barbarous race, of striking uniformity of cranial development.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXVI.

183 577 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except 582 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 183 582 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

The pouch of the *pûthkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzâram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*, some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kutŏr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pett*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Amuddpa nyanâ,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tiliwâ.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzâram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *Ködmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *Ködmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

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* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Thraht Mund the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzârams* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the circle.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, *People of India*, p. 290. At a Brahmin funeral "the chief of the funeral takes on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhût, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhûts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

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These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[155] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by
the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are
made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age
he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month
of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself,
or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag
rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the
carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and
the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a
café-au-lait tint. The skin of the female children and
young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in
glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly
good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into
uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous
women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the
fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkŭli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery
worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[231] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after
our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had
accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire-place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

351 343 [342] [793] [354] 417 233 [422] 487 [562] [234] [562]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæribj, daughter of ōiknuɜ (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of kɔrɨ̄ũuṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæɨn; a woman's name tæɨn is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kujniɨr, 3, Kainir).

§30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiifj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiifj, daughter of kūuɨlpɐx (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

§31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kūɑsm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. ōingũuṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

§32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[9] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[9] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kɑsm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have a good knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; *cf.* §23.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

term [kel] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas.

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[1] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

[1] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 343-393.

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kaxfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kumn], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

has been baptised, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social structure. [alc] (3, Ulta), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuum:n] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanus] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfusodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškem] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnus] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paiuni:ʒfuj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfusodj]. Her brother [no:nmusj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfusodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnus] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [no:nmusj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfusodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjo:n] (20, son of [te:pax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfusodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [no:nmusj] should pay to [kanfusodj] half the value of the buffalo.

Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first marriage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes, and five rupees; these are the [kökuulj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aapum] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the tö̆ŋ̆ṵ; and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tö̆ṵ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the silsa. They have connexions with the villages of the silsa (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. t̆ökiŋ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noŋ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these tö̆ŋ̆ṵ are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The tö̆unoŋ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localised at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the tö̆unoŋ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as ay as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noŋ "sacred place." Within the noŋ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noŋ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noŋ "sacred place" or tö̆unoŋ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

11:Emeneau ..L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of sibnes, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poḷy). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The nɛ:lpoḷy, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuṛɨcɨy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuṛɨcɨy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 76 (middle).
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainoiker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vanthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mam* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vanthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamtpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mam*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalkartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mam* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuxu* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertilkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *puzir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "mores". A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmudpudikht* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mud*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *mujvatitkkatvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *mujvarvairn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*mud*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the arm-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kinr, they must vacate the *mud* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*pozir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pals nirut*),

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkampirkpini* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mund* called *irsdvir* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *munds* of the Tarthavsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalkarvmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mund* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tarthavsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalkarvmokh* can sleep with the Tarthavsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *warrol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tarthavsh woman that he wants (from any *mund*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mund*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *shedas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *mund*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *pulkkiol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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married Naisirwal, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was *chief* of the Maligarsh *mudol*) and Pudu, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhur and Munbukwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *tevershol* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokkholdol* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilli priest of free access to all the women of the *mund* to which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *tevershol*, the authority of the *mund* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter of tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Nilgiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Maligarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwal, had no

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[Melgarsh Village]

571 621 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddlhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mud* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amonjwuf.

Pilkhliwowutn: Mozoed, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Nirshmali.

Pufvkiavoz: Mutmali only.

422 [23] The Melgarsh *mud* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir or parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddlhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 428 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

[562] [583]

To 545 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

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Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?". His answer was very

4: Yalman E-4, 5 (1954-1956); 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[532] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
[611] uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, then can